1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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(*hakaanagaou*) lest the tuna tear it off. *Ature* were sometimes crushed between two stones and the flesh (*mamama*) wrapped (*viri*) with the line on the stone sinker. The hook was cast into the water with the stone and the line was fastened in such a way that a jerk was sufficient to release the stone. The crushed meat, wrapped with the stone, floated near the hook. 226

Sometimes two hooks were thrown at one time—a big one baited with crushed *ature* meat and a small one with a whole *ature*. The line with the small hook (*hau-maroki*) was fastened to the belt of the fisherman, and the one with the big hook (*hau mamama*) to a transverse stick in the canoe. The loose knot untied at the first bite (*pakoo*) of the fish. The fisherman allowed the line to go out before he pulled (*paipai*) in the fish.

To catch *pei* or *poopoo*, big fish living in deeper water than the *kahi*, the natives used long lines which they sank with a heavy stone. *Ature* was the usual bait. For some fish the natives attached several hooks to one line, spaced about one meter apart. Geiseler (87, p. 37) mentions the use of fragments of mother-of-pearl to attract the fish, but I obtained no information on this point. As bonito hooks were not used on Easter Island, mother-of-pearl could well have been used for a lure. Even today when metal hooks have taken the place of lighter bone ones, the islanders still use stone to sink their hooks.

Crushed crayfish is considered a good bait for *tuamingo* and some other fish.

CONGER FISHING

Conger eels (*koiro*) are caught with a hook baited with *kotea* or *paoho* fish. Near Anakena is a rock which is said to have been put there by Hotumatua for the fishing of conger eels. I was told that some fishermen caught congers by diving and seizing them with the hands. [491]

NETS

I saw no net in the modern village of Hanga-roa. However, one was used in a fishing party in which one of our group participated. Fifty years ago nets were abundant and Geiseler (87, p. 37) admired their beautiful workmanship. Even the large nets had fine, regular meshes. To catch fish with a net is *tangu*. The expression *tono ki roto ki te kupenga* means to drive fish into a net. *Tuku* is to scoop with a hand net, to walk with open net. The corners of a net are termed *pingei*; the bottom, *taki*; the meshes, *piniku*. 227

The 2-ply cords for nets were made of *hau* bark (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) or of paper mulberry bark twisted by women on their thighs. Nets in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, are made of clear yellow rope very like the *olona* string of Hawaii. 227 286

The making of nets (*taa*) was a male industry in which even the king took part. The netting shuttles (*hiko*) were made of *toro-miro*. A modern shuttle was made for

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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To catch needle fish (*ihe*) the Marquesans had a special net of the same type as that used for flying fish. It was a small bag fixed to the arms of a fork lashed to a pole (142, p. 400). It is possible that the description of the *kupenga ihe* given by my informant is inaccurate and that the Easter Island *kupenga ihe* was like the Marquesan. However, in the Tuamotus the needle fish are caught in traps, hence we may assume that set nets could be used for the same purpose.

Fish Spears

Spears used by modern natives are of European manufacture. It is impossible to determine whether a spear is old or has been introduced by Tahitian settlers. When Roussel (190, p. 355) landed on Easter Island in 1866, some of the natives were armed with European harpoons. Modern spears are from 3 to 5 meters long and belong to two types, one a simple spear with an iron point, the other with a compound point working on the principle of a fish gorge. The fisherman dives, his eyes protected by glasses, and pierces fish that swim within his reach.

Turtle Watchtowers

Turtles were watched for from turtle watchtowers (*tupa*) along the shore near ancient settlements.

One tower at La Pérouse Bay (pl. 2, *B*) is 3 meters high and the diameter of its base is about 7 meters. The entrance is 80 cm. high and 1.10 meters broad. The interior of the building consists of big, unhewn stones, well laid. Inside they project gradually until they are spanned by slabs forming a crude corbeled vault. The largest tower is situated between La Pérouse and ahu Mahatua, near ahu Vai-mangeo. The tower has a kind of wing containing an inner chamber.

The *tupa* of ahu Akapu, seen by Cook and his party (83, vol. 1, p. 570) and accurately described by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 254), is still in fairly good condition. Its construction is similar to that of the tower at La Pérouse. The interior chamber is 24 feet long by 6 feet wide and 7 feet high in the center. The walls are 4 feet thick and the door is 2 feet high by 2 feet wide.

Thomson (215, p. 484) and Routledge (194, p. 218) were told that these towers were lookout stations whence the movements of turtles and fish could be watched, and I was given the same explanation. Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 12) was puzzled by the importance of the towers with their lower apartments, which are in no reasonable proportion to the purpose for which they were built. Though they are along the shore, these towers do not give the watchers any better view of the sea than any near-by hill. There are no such towers on the south coast; on the north they are few—I know of only five. In the Tuamotus and Hawaii, watchers sat at certain points along the coast to signal the arrival of turtles or fish. Heaps of stones served as elevations. The *tupa* of Easter Island were probably most similar to the Hawaiian fishermen's shrines (*ko'a*), which were terraces of stone. On some of them stood

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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501 171 really known on Easter Island, this would be exceptional not only for Easter Island but also for Polynesia in general.

The booms of Easter Island canoes were connected directly to the float. This so-called direct attachment has the following distribution in Polynesia: Hawaii, the outer Tuamotus, Rimatara and probably other Austral Islands, the Cook Islands (except Aitutaki), Tutuila (Samoa), and formerly the Marquesas. In the direct attachment type, the booms may be lashed to the float or inserted in it. The exact Easter Island method is not known, but, if the original sketch for the plate in La Pérouse's atlas (fig. 18, *a*) is correct, the booms of the outrigger terminated in forks holding the float, a method which is known nowhere else in Polynesia. Supplementary lashing must have existed, though it is not shown in the sketch. Possibly one point of the fork was inserted into the float as in the Cook Islands floats (109, pp. 163, 166).

Rafts

481 609 The natives made up for the shortage of canoes by developing a remarkable skill in swimming. When a ship came in sight they all jumped into the water and tried to reach it, even if it was far away. Captain Rugg of the bark *Prudence* told Dumont d'Urville (63, vol. 3, p. 387) that when he passed Easter Island, natives did not hesitate to swim 2 miles in a rough sea to board his ship. Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 228) says that women moved the legs and arms alternately in swimming while the men moved them at the same time.

501 The Easter Islanders used rafts (*pora*) made of bulrush mats, rolled into big, conical bundles. The swimmer reclined on the thicker part of the bundle which he grasped firmly with his hand while he paddled with his feet. According to my informant some of these bundles were 7 feet long and could be used simultaneously by two persons. Lisiansky (143, p. 58) is the first voyager to mention the *pora*. He describes it as a "rush mat which he [a native] used as support in swimming." Two of the islanders who boarded Du Petit-Thouars ship came on *pora*. "We were very much surprised," writes Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 231), "to notice that each of these natives was [609] riding on a reed roller, of the form of a wheat sheaf. They brought us in order to be welcomed, bananas, sweet-potatoes and yams, enclosed in their reeds." The carrying of food in *pora* was often described to me by islanders and said to be the usual method for taking food to the *manu-tara* egg hunters on Motu-nui (p. 335). A *pora* illustrated in the atlas of Du Petit-Thouars is conical and slightly curved (fig. 33, *a*). It is approximately 5 feet high; the reeds are tied together at four different places. Palmer (171, p. 172) compares the float to "a very large elephant tusk, made of sedge, rushes, etc."

Before planks were introduced, natives used *pora* for surf riding. The natives seen about 1838 by the captain of the *Prudence* had substituted planks.

Paddles

Wood shortage is again reflected in Easter Island paddles (*mata-kao*; *hoe-hoe*, to paddle), which were made of two pieces: a separate blade (*pararaha*), lashed to a long handle (*kukuru*). Two complete paddles were collected by Thomson (215, p. 538, pl. 59), who describes them as "very old and highly

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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who was about the only able-bodied man on the island who did not participate. It was decidedly a go-as-you-please-race, every man selecting his route to the sea by the circuitous paths or directly over the face of the cliff, and many fatal falls are recorded as the result.

The swim to Motu Kau Kau was a trifling matter, the chief difficulty being to return with an egg unbroken through the general scramble.

The *hopu* swam over to the island, supported by big bundles of reeds used as floats (*pora*). Carefully wrapped in the mats of the *pora* were provisions of all sorts which were "still hot when they landed on Motu-nui." To cross the 2 kilometers between the main island and Motu-nui was not an easy sport. The waves are generally high and often sharks haunt these waters.

On the islet, the *hopu* were provided with food which was cooked by the people gathered at Orongo and taken over to the island by servants who used *pora* for transportation. When the weather was stormy communications between Motu-nui and the main island ceased. Those who were provident dried banana and sweet potato skins in the sun to be eaten in case of emergency.

Whilst the *hopu* waited on the islet for the first *manu-tara* eggs, their masters and the members of the *ao* performed various rites at Orongo to propitiate the gods. Dances were held in front of the houses, and chants were sung for the gods by the *rongorongo* who occupied the houses at the end of the stone village, near the carved rocks. The dual political division of the island was reflected even in the abodes of the narrators during the feast. Those from Hotu-iti dwelt in the western group of houses, and those from Tuu in the houses to the east. Sometimes the king went to Mataveri to call on the people gathered there, but he never ascended to Orongo. At least that was the custom adopted by Nga-ara who was probably following an old tradition. Offerings and prayers were addressed to the gods Makemake and Haua who had created the birds and established the cult in honor of themselves. Makemake designated the man to be *tangata-manu* and thus incarnate the god. Routledge (194, p. 260) mentions *vie* Hoa and *vie* Kenatea among the deities who were worshipped at Orongo.

Tepano stated repeatedly that at Orongo there were many old men (*koro-kua*) who were sorcerers; they recited charms for the success of the competitors and had long talks with the gods, who entered some of the houses of Orongo. When a god was thought to be in a house, only the priest could enter and inquire about the contestant's chances of winning. While the priests tried to make the deities favorable toward those who resorted to them (*hatu o te manu kia Haua, kia kia Makemake*), the young people were busy making earth ovens, the contents of which they distributed lavishly among the priests or sent to the *hopu* on the island. Some of the food was set apart by the *ivi-atua* and consecrated to the gods with the traditional formula, "Ka too ma Haua, ma Makemake . . . " Tepano's reference to the sharp voices of the priests when they spoke to the gods is probably a personal memory of some

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
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9. A great many canoes came off to the ships: these people showed us at that time their great cupidity for every thing they saw; and were so daring that they took the seamen's hats and caps from off their heads, and sprang overboard with the spoil[1]; for they are surpassingly good swimmers, as would seem from the great numbers of them who came swimming off from the shore to the ships. There was also an Easter Islander who climbed in through the cabin window of *THE AFRICAN GALLEY*, from his canoe, and seeing on the table, a cloth with which it was covered, and deeming it to be a good prize, he made his escape with it there and then; so that one must take special heed to keep close watch over everything. Furthermore, a shore party of 134 men was organised to make investigations for the purpose of reporting upon our mission.

10. In the morning we proceeded with three boats and two shallops, manned by 134 persons, all armed with musket, pistols, and cutlass; on reaching the shore the boats and shallops kept close together in order to lay down their grapnels, leaving twenty men in them, armed as above, to take care of them; *THE AFRICAN GALLEY'S* boat, was mounted besides with two carronades in the bows. Having seen to all these arrangements, we proceeded in open order, but keeping well together, and clambered over the rocks, which are very numerous on the sea margin, as far as the level land or flat, making signs with the hand that the natives, who pressed round us in great numbers, should stand out of our way and make room for us. Having got so far, a *corps de bataille* was formed up of all the seamen of the three ships, the

[1] The edited Journal here has a footnote to the effect that "the posterity of this generation were not less thievishly disposed than their fathers," and refers to Cook's, De la Pérouse's, and Kotzebue's accounts of their respective experiences with them in this respect.

7:Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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While acting as a beacon as above stated and awaiting the arrival of the ship, three of the natives swam off, [their bodies] painted in various colours, and keeping near the boat, shouting constantly, until one of them came at last so close as to present me with a morsel of yam: I gave him some biscuit and tobacco, all of which he accepted. He carried his provisions in a satchel neatly plaited of fine straw. When the ship came to an anchor these three went off ashore again, but returned with another swimming and making straight for the ship, on board of which they climbed with much agility, shouting all the while and exhibiting much gayness of spirit. They ran about freely from stem to stern, and full of mirth, climbing about the rigging like sailormen. [Our people] played the *cava* and fife to them, and they began to dance, evincing great pleasure. They were given ribbons, shirts, trousers, seamen's jumpers, and small gilt metal crosses: they accepted them all with gladness, the biscuit they received without remark until they saw our people eat some. It pleased them well and then they asked for it, and applied themselves freely to the consumption of salt pork and rice, &c.

On the said 16th of November we embarked at one o'clock in the day, Don Cayetano Lángara, senior lieutenant, Don Pedro Obregon, midshipman, a serjeant, a corporal of marines, a gunner, some marines and myself, in the launch, fully armed and equipped for service, with orders to make a complete circuit of the island in company with the *Rosalia's* launch, with her officer Don Demetrio Ezeta, senior lieutenant, each one fitted with a swivel gun in the bows. We set to work to take soundings, giving names to the points, bays, &c., as shown on the plan of the island. At half-past six in the evening we brought to in a cove which we called after Lángara: we tried to effect a landing but this was not practicable as the sea was breaking with such force all along the shore, which was rocky at all

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

1774. MARCH. pillar which appeared above ground. We did not obſerve that the natives paid any worſhip to theſe pillars, yet they ſeemed to hold them in ſome kind of veneration, as they ſometimes expreſſed a diſlike when we walked over the paved area or pedeſtals, or examined the ſtones of which it conſiſted.

A few of the natives accompanied us farther on into the country, where we had ſeen ſome buſhes at a diſtance, which we hoped would afford us ſomething new. Our road was intolerably rugged, over heaps of volcanic ſtones, which rolled away under our feet, and againſt which we continually hurt ourſelves. The natives, who were accuſtomed to this deſolate ground, ſkipped nimbly from ſtone to ſtone without the leaſt difficulty. In our way we ſaw ſeveral black rats running about, which it ſeems are common to every iſland in the South Sea. Being arrived at the ſhrubbery which we had in view, we found it was nothing but a ſmall plantation of the paper mulberry, of which here, as well as at Taheitee, they make their cloth. Its ſtems were from two to four feet high, and planted in rows, among very large rocks, where the rains had waſhed a little ſoil together. In the neighbourhood of theſe we ſaw ſome buſhes of the *hibiſcus populneus*, Linn. which is common alſo in the Society Iſles, where it is one of the numerous plants made uſe of to dye yellow; and likewiſe a *mimoſa*, which is the only ſhrub that affords the natives ſticks for their

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

1774. MARCH. We went on board at noon, where we dined on ſome fowls and potatoes, which we found delicious after the fatigues of the morning. We obſerved a few natives on board, who had ventured to ſwim off, though the ſhip lay about three quarters of a mile from the ſhore. They expreſſed the moſt unbounded admiration at every thing they ſaw, and every one of them meaſured the whole length of the veſſel from head to ſtern, with his extended arms; ſuch a great quantity of timber of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, being altogether incomprehenſible to people whoſe canoes were patched of many ſmall bits of wood. Among them was one woman, who had arrived on board in the ſame manner, and carried on a particular traffic of her own. She viſited ſeveral of the inferior officers, and then addreſſed herſelf to the ſailors, emulating the famous exploits of Meſſalina *. A few Engliſh rags, and ſome pieces of Taheitee cloth, were the ſpoils which ſhe carried away with her, being fetched off by a man in the patched canoe, which was perhaps the only one in the iſland. Another of her country-women had viſited our ſhip the day before, and been equally unbounded in her revels. It remained a doubt with us, whether we ſhould moſt admire their ſucceſs among a ſickly crew, exhauſted by the long continuance of a noxious diet, or their own ſpirit and inſatiate temper.

* See Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. x. c. 63. Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. Juvenal. Sat. vi. 129.
——laſſata viris, nec ſatiata receſſit.

In

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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1774. MARCH. About an hundred natives, and among them four or five women, accompanied us on our march, and ſold us a quantity of potatoes and a few fowls, which we added to our ſtock of proviſions. We found the whole country ſtrewed with ſtones of various ſizes, of a cavernous or ſpongy texture, and of a black, brown, or reddiſh colour, which had indubitable marks of having been in a volcanic fire. The paths through this rugged ground are in ſome meaſure cleared of the ſtones, but ſo very narrow, that we were obliged to turn our toes inwards, at which the natives are perfectly expert, and to ſet one foot exactly before the other. This mode of walking was exceſſively fatiguing to us who were not uſed to it, ſo that we continually hurt our feet or ſtumbled. On both ſides the ground was covered with a thin perennial Jamaica-graſs, *(paſpalum,)* which grew in bunches or tufts, and was ſo ſlippery that we could not walk on it. We reached the eaſt ſide of the iſland, near a range of ſeven pillars or ſtatues, of which only four remained ſtanding, and one of them had loſt its cap. They ſtood on a common pedeſtal, like thoſe which we had ſeen on the other ſide, and its ſtones were ſquare and fitted exactly in the ſame manner. Though the ſtone of which the ſtatue itſelf is formed ſeems to be ſoft enough, being nothing but the red *tufa* which covers the whole iſland, yet it was incomprehenſible to me how ſuch great maſſes could be formed by a ſet of people among whom

we

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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"hopu," went to the islet when the Ao went up to Orongo, or possibly rather later. Each made up his provisions into a "pora," or securely bound bundle of reeds; he then swam on the top of the packet, holding it with one arm and propelling himself with the remaining arm and both legs. An incantation, which was recited to us, was said by him before starting. In one instance, the ivi-atua, at the same time that he gave the nomination, prophesied that the year that it was taken up a man should be eaten by a large fish. The original recipient never availed himself of it, but on his death-bed told his son of the prophecy. The son, Kilimuti, undeterred by it, entered for the race and sent two men to the islet; one of them started to swim there with his pora, but was never heard of again, and it was naturally said that the prophecy had been fulfilled. Kilimuti wasted no regret over the misfortune, obtained another servant, and secured the egg; he died while the Expedition was on the island.

The hopu lived together in a large cave of which the entrance is nearly concealed by grass. The inside, however, is light and airy; it measures 19 feet by 13, with a height of over 5 feet, and conspicuous among other carvings in the centre of the wall is a large ao more than 7 feet in length. A line dividing the islet between Kotuu and Hotu Iti passed through the centre of the cave, and also through another cave nearer the edge of the islet; in this latter there was at one time a statue about 2 feet high known as Titahanga-o-te-henua, or The Boundary of the Land.[1] As bad weather might prevent fresh consignments of food during the weeks of waiting, the men carefully dried on the rocks the skins of the bananas and potatoes which they had brought with them, to be consumed in case of necessity. It was added with a touch appreciated by those acquainted with Easter Island, that, if the man who thus practised foresight was not careful, others who had no food would steal it when he was not looking.

The approach of the manu-tara can be heard for miles, for their cry is their marked peculiarity, and the noise during nesting is said to be deafening; one incised drawing of the bird shows

[1] This statue was removed to the mainland shortly before our arrival, and we were able to procure it in exchange for one of the yacht blankets. It is now at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (fig. 111).